

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 ACDA-10 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 PM-03 DODE-00 SPC-01 NEA-06

IO-03 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DRC-01 EB-03 /076 W

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R 261709Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8328

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 15553

LIMDIS

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, US, GW, FR

SUBJECT: U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONS: FRG OUTLOOK ON EC

DECLARATION

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BEGIN SUMMARY: FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL PROVIDED THE AMBASSADOR OCT 25 WITH GENERALLY OPTIMISTIC ASSESSMENT OF POST-COPENHAGEN PROSPECTS FOR U.S./EC DECLARATION. VAN WELL WELCOMED INCREASING EC READINESS AND OSTENSIBLE ABILITY TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES AND EC COMMISSION'S PARTICIPATION IN NINE'S CONSENSUS BUILDING PROCESS, BUT UNDERScoreD EC READINESS TO CHANGE POSITIONS DURING OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH U.S. REPS, THUS AVOIDING FAIT ACCOMPLI. IN DESCRIBING EC-9 ATTITUDE TOWARD CONCEPTS OF PARTNERSHIP AND INTERDEPENDENCE, VAN WELL ACKNOWLEDGED OBSTACLES PRESENTED BY FRENCH AND CONFINES IMPOSED BY CURRENT LEVEL OF EC CONSENSUS, BUT ACCENTUATED THE POSITIVE AND THOUGHT THE FRENCH WOULD GIVE GREEN LIGHT TO EC PERM REP DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC ASPECTS NOW THAT "BASIC POLITICAL LINES OF DECLARATION ARE BEING CLARIFIED." VAN WELL ALSO STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF TAKING ACCOUNT OF INTERESTS OF NATO ALLIES OUTSIDE OF U.S./EC EXERCISE. HE EXPECTS NEXT EC MEETING WITH U.S. REPS IN MID-NOVEMBER. END SUMMARY

1. DURING OCT 25 MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR, FONOFF ASSISTANT SECRETARY VAN WELL GAVE GENERALLY POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF POST-COPENHAGEN PROSPECTS FOR U.S./EC DECLARATION. VAN WELL SAID THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OCT 18-19 COPENHAGEN MEETING OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL WITH EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS WOULD DEPEND ABOVE ALL ON THE IMPACT THAT THE CLARIFICATION OF ISSUES WOULD HAVE ON THE U.S. AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS. VAN WELL SAID HE HOPED THE FRENCH WOULD NOW BE MORE RELAXED ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF A SUBSTANTIAL AND ONGOING DIALOGUE WITH THE U.S., A PROSPECT PARIS SO FAR SEEMED TO CONSIDER WOULD BE DISRUPTIVE TO THE PRACTICAL ELABORATION OF AN INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND VOICE. VAN WELL SAID THE FRENCH HAD FEARED THAT AN INTENSIVE U.S./EC DIALOGUE WOULD REQUIRE EUROPE SIMPLY "TO TAKE ITS CUES FROM THE U.S." IT IS THE GERMAN VIEW, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S./EC EXERCISE SO FAR SHOWS THAT THE EC-9 STILL CAN SPEAK WITH A HARMONIOUS VOICE ALBEIT IN POLYPHONIC AND OCCASIONALLY COUNTER SECRET

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POINTED ORCHESTRATION.

2. WHILE THE EC WAS SEEKING TO SPEAK TO U.S. REPS ON THE BASIS OF A GENERAL CONSENSUS WORKED OUT IN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, VAN WELL SAID THE POL DIRECTORS HAD DEMONSTRATED CONSIDERABLE NEGOTIATING LEEWAY AND FLEXIBILITY DURING DISCUSSIONS WITH U.S. REPS. VAN WELL SAID THE NINE ARE ACUTELY CONSCIOUS OF U.S.

CONCERN OVER BEING PRESENTED WITH FAIT ACCOMPLI. THE  
OCT 18-19 DISCUSSION SHOWED, IN VAN WELL'S VIEW, THAT  
THE EC IS PREPARED TO ADD, DELETE AND CHANGE POSITIONS  
INITIALLY DEVELOPED IN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE IN ORDER  
TO MEET POSITIONS ADVANCED BY THE U.S. HE BELIEVES  
PPUAUXWILL REPORT BACK TO JOBERT THAT THE COPENHAGEN  
MEETING WENT VERY WELL IN THIS RESPECT.

3. VAN WELL SAID HE HOPED THE COPENHAGEN MEETING ALSO  
HAD REMOVED POSSIBLE U.S. MISUNDERSTANDING CONCERNING  
THE RATIONALE BEHIND EC ATTITUDES TOWARD PARTNERSHIP  
AND INTERDEPENDENCE/GLOBALIZATION. THE NINE POL  
GDS  
HILLENBRAND

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USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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LIMDIS

DIRECTORS HAD ATTEMPTED TO ADVANCE THE EC IDENTITY AS AN ADDITION TO RATHER THAN A PART OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. VAN WELL SAID THE U.S./EC DECLARATION EXERCISE IS DESIGNED TO ASSURE THAT AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE EMERGING EC IDENTITY WOULD BE OF AN EQUAL QUALITATIVE CHARACTER TO THE ALREADY EXCELLENT  
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BILATERAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION WITHIN NATO. BUT VAN WELL SAID THE U.S./EC RELATIONSHIP COULD NOT TAKE THE PLACE OF NATO AND BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THE U.S./EC DECLARATION SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO COVER BILATERAL/NATO RELATIONS. GIVEN FRENCH CONCERNS OVER POSSIBLE OVERRIDING U.S. INFLUENCE ON U.S./EC RELATIONS AND THE FRENCH VIEW OF PARTNERSHIP AS A LEGAL CONCEPTION, VAN WELL SAID PARIS WAS NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO ACCEPT THE FORMULATION "PARTNERSHIP," BECAUSE FRANCE DID NOT WISH THE U.S. TO JOIN THE EC "LAW FIRM" AT THIS TIME. EFFORTS BY VAN WELL AND BRITISH FCO DIRECTOR WRIGHT HAD NOT BUDGED POMPIDOU ON THIS POINT, AND "THE SLOWEST SHIP IN THE CONVOY IS STILL DICTATING THE PACE." HOWEVER, VAN WELL SAID BONN HOPES THE FRENCH WOULD BE PREPARED TO CHANGE THEIR POSITION ON PARTNERSHIP AS U.S./EC RELATIONS INTENSIFY IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING EXECUTION OF THE DECLARATION. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE GERMANS SHARE DAVIGNON'S VIEW THAT THE IMPORTANCE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS PUBLICLY ATTACH TO THE DECLARATION MAY BE AS SIGNIFICANT IN PRACTICAL TERMS AS THE TEXT OF THE DECLARATION ITSELF.

4. VAN WELL WAS SOMEWHAT DISINGENUOUS CONCERNING THE GLOBALIZATION/INTERDEPENDENCE ISSUE. AS REPORTED ABOVE, HE SAID THE U.S./EC, NATO, AND BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS MUST BE KEPT CAREFULLY SEPARATE IN VIEW OF FRENCH OBJECTIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, VAN WELL VOICED CONCERN ABOUT HOW TO ASSURE THAT THE INTERESTS OF OTHER NATO ALLIES ARE TAKEN FULLY INTO ACCOUNT. HE PARTICULARLY MENTIONED CANADA, NORWAY, GREECE, AND TURKEY. IN THIS CONNECTION, VAN WELL EXPECTED THAT EC POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS WOULD IN THE FUTURE TURN INCREASINGLY TO SECURITY TYPE ISSUES

AND THAT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO BRING COMMON EC  
VIEWS THEREAFTER TO NATO WITH A READINESS TO ADJUST  
THE EC CONSENSUS TO THE INTERESTS OF BOTH THE U.S.  
AND OTHER NON-EC NATO PARTNERS. COMMENT: VAN WELL  
TREATED THIS LATTER POINT AT SOME LENGTH IN A RECENT  
MAGAZINE ARTICLE WHICH WE WILL TRANSMIT BY  
AIRGRAM AND COMMENTON IN SEPTEL. END COMMENT  
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5. VAN WELL SAID THAT EC PERM REP DISCUSSIONS OF  
ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF U.S./EC DECLARATION HAVE BEEN HELD  
UP SO FAR BECAUSE FRENCH DEL LACKED FORTHCOMING  
INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS. VAN WELL SAID THE FRENCH  
TACTICS APPEAR TO BE ONE OF STALLING PERM REP DIS-  
CUSSIONS OF ECONOMIC ISSUES UNTIL BASIC POLITICAL  
LINES OF DECLARATION WERE ESTABLISHED. NOW THAT  
POLITICAL LINES WERE BEING CLARIFIED VAN WELL SAID HE  
NOW EXPECTED PARIS TO GIVE GREEN LIGHT TO CONCRETE  
PERM REP DISCUSSION, WITH NEXT MEETING OF U.S. AND  
EC REPS TO TAKE PLACE IN MID-NOVEMBER AFTER NOV  
12-13 POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING.

6. COMMENT: VAN WELL AND OTHER FONOFF REPS ARE FULLY  
AWARE OF THOSE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN CONCEPT WHICH  
STILL SEPARATE U.S. AND EC SIDES, PARTICULARLY ON  
QUESTIONS OF PARTNERSHIP AND INTERDEPENDENCE/  
GLOBALIZATION. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT SIGNIFICANCE  
OF LAST MEET  
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